/704 cont./

occupied only under the pressure of circumstances.

Sometimes the child announces itself while the family is traveling in the canoe. As has been reported in Outes (g):55, she tries to get to shore in time. If that is impossible, the child is simply born on the water. Bridges (a):182 also mentions that "children are sometimes born in canoes, they are then called, whether boy or girl, anookwilis" /cited in English/. This word is not given in BD, and I never heard it, but I did hear ūšípin, ūšípisin, ūšiápisin, to which were sometimes added the masculine or feminine endings. For example, Santiago's name was ūšípisínčis kiltašáka, "one who was born away from the land, near the coast of kiltašáka." BD:105 gives ūsipisin, "a man who has no proper place of abode" /cited in English/. Only women who have already had children and know what to do would risk giving birth in the canoe. A woman giving birth for the first time is always kept in the hut by the other women for the period just before her delivery.

It is true that among the Yamana there are no professional midwives, the so-called wenamaastekaxípa, but some women do have the reputation of being good at this (122). They get this

122. Hyades (q):190 also mentions that occasionally individual women help the woman in labor, but not professionally: "There are no midwives" /translated from French/.

reputation because of their frequent assistance and personal skill; /705/ moreover, it is said that each of them has her own method, as well as many individual tricks, that distinguish one from another. In recent times Gertie has been regarded as especially reliable, and Nelly used the help of old Anita when each of her children was born. In general a woman will always be attended by the same midwife, because the latter has learned her physical characteristics from experience. Every Indian woman knows enough to give the young mother adequate help (123).

123. Hyades (q):375 confirms this absolutely: "All the women, even young girls, are adept at lending assistance at the confinement" /translated from French/.

/729 cont./
145 in life. They are familiar with this phenomenon, and they are quietly resigned to what is in store for them. A few older Indian women said that the change of life caused them and other women scarcely any difficulties worth mentioning. It is not strange that
144 female diseases were completely unknown to the Yamana of olden times. For a while Nelly Lawrence suffered from a very painful prolapse of the womb (prolapsus uteri). When the attack was over, she emphatically expressed to me her absolute conviction that this condition had hitherto not troubled any woman and that she was the first to suffer from it.

7. Naming

•551 For reasons we shall soon mention any festivity or ceremony on the occasion of giving a child a name is superfluous. Every Yamana, without exception, has a proper name, and in addition, most of them also have a personal nickname. Very definite mention of this double naming customary among the Yamana is found in Hyades (q):376 and in Outes (g):55: "A child is given the name of his birthplace or of the peculiarities that distinguish him" /translated from Spanish/ (169). The most important, of course,

169. Bridges (a):182 mentions a third kind, namely, "family names, handed down from generation to generation, from father to the eldest son. These kinds of names, generally have no meaning" /cited in English/. See footnote 174 below and Bridges (h):207.

is the actual proper name (170).

170. This should be especially emphasized as opposed to Despard (b):698, who reverses the order when he says: "Besides a proper name, a man will have one in memory of his birth-place" /cited in English/.

/730/ It is not hard to choose a proper name, for it is taken from the place where the child was born, and it is given the proper

/730 cont./

•551 ending according to the child's sex. The ending for boys is ẽ́ncis or ẽ́njis or ĩ́njis; for girls it is kípa (171) or, more rarely, wílis.

171. Hyades (q):376, with some inaccuracies, also describes this word-formation. He (g):39 correctly says: "Usually [the children] are given the name of the place where they were born." Lovisato (b):151 also gives examples of male and female proper names.

The giving of a proper name is, as Fred Lawrence expressed it to me in August, 1923 "a purely automatic process." A girl and a boy born in Uŭuwā́ja are called uŭuwā́jakípa and uŭuwā́ĩ̆njis, respectively. Bridges (h):207 also mentions an example of a man "who was named mamashtagadagangez, from Mamashtagadaga, his birthplace" /translated from Spanish/. Despard (b):698 gives another example, namely, that "the woman's toponymic, or place-name, ends in keepa or willis, e.g., Lashawiawillis [better laŭawā́jawílis], a woman of Lashawia, Camileunakeepa, woman of Camileuna" /cited in English/. It is not worthwhile to cite other word formations which will henceforth be intelligible. Naming follows this pattern up to the present day (172).

172. It is a mistake for Bridges to maintain, in Hyades (q):272, that a few words formerly used are no longer current, among them "the word Entsis or Indjis, ... like Kipa" /translated from French/.

A child born in a canoe is temporarily named ŭ̃́šipin or ŭ̃šipisin or ŭ̃šípisin, with the corresponding final syllable. Thus Santiago is called ŭ̃šipisẽ́njis, meaning roughly, "man without a birthplace."

It is unavoidable that a child will receive a name that another already has. Then the personal nickname makes the necessary distinction, or else the child temporarily remains a ŭ̃šipisẽ́njis until the time of the youth initiation. Then he gets his final name from the name of the place where he is first introduced to this ceremony. I myself may serve as an example. On my first visit I was an

/730 cont./

•551 ūšipisēnjis according to Yamana ideas, because I was not born at a place in their home country. The first time I experienced their čiéxaus was in Šámakuswāja near Punta Remolino, and after that I was called šamakušēnjis.

As we have just said, the same name should not be used for two persons, according to the general rule. If there are two ūšipisēnjis, they are distinguished from one another by nicknames, and this is certainly done at once when one of the two dies. The [184] Yamana do not like to repeat the name of a deceased person, which they would be forced to do if the survivor continued /731/ to bear the name. For this reason the above-mentioned Santiago was called ūškēšyágu, "White Forehead," and no longer ušipisēnjis. If two persons have the same name and one of them dies, the survivor afterwards is called ūsiluswēnjis for the time being. Fred Lawrence, for example, was called this after an Indian named Fred had died, and he told me that it means roughly, "the one from the same birthplace as another," and everyone knows that the other one is dead (173). The name ūsiluswākipa is used for a

173. BD:104 also gives this word as "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/.

female; naturally this name is applied to the surviving person only temporarily and a nickname soon becomes current.

The same consideration applies to the use of the word īkáškan for a son and very close relative (father, brother, sister) of a man and a woman who died by drowning. The name of that son or that relative is never repeated thereafter in order to avoid the memory of the death of a father or relative.

Finally, the Yamana also have a special designation for someone who is the last survivor in a region, namely, ūsidēpa, meaning "the one whose country will be forsaken after he dies." BD:104 gives ūsitōpa, "a person whose near relatives have died, as tho he had only his country left him" /cited in English/. Old Walter is regarded as an ūsidēpa, for he is the last of the eastern people.

/731 cont./

551 Although the nickname is merely an adjunct to the proper name, it unequivocally indicates the physical appearances and character of its bearer. It is chosen out of consideration for a physical peculiarity, a striking appearance, a strange habit, an odd nature, or an unusual character trait. Men are given nicknames much more often than women. The Yamana sometimes even surpass our own schoolboys in their aptness for appropriate choices in such names. Here are a few examples that I copied down in August, 1923. I shall preferably choose those nicknames that were applied to Europeans to show that the roguish nature of our Yamana showed itself in front of them, too.

551 609

wēngul (wēngulu, "to bore out"), "Twisted Leg." Name of Fred Lawrence whose left leg is somewhat bent.

tellapāla (télla, "eye"), "Eyebrows." This was applied to Guillermo Bridges because of his bushy eyebrows.

ūškēšlūš (ūškēš "forehead"; lus, "red"), "Red Forehead." This was the name for Missionary Pringle and for Martin Lawrence, whose faces were always conspicuously red.

ūškēšyāgu (ūškēš, "forehead"; yāgu, "white"), "White Forehead." They were quite right to apply this to Santiago on account of his pale face.

ufkitowa (BD:118 ufkitāuwa, "deaf"), "The Deaf One." Missionary Aspinall, who was very deaf, gave them ample reason for this nickname. /732/

yakāsci (yakāsci, "thin patches of beard around the chin"), "Sparse Goatee." The Yamana hit upon this designation because Thomas Bridges had an unevenly filled-out beard.

551 522 The Yamana are not always considerate in selecting nicknames; some names border on the improper and people repeat them with glee, in derision of the bearer.

hasānuwa (hasānuwa, "negligent, dirty in appearance"), "Slovenly Human Being." A person who pays no attention to his appearance is given this name. A woman may also be called this, hasānuwakipa.

pāčeaskālan (pāčea, "behind"; askālan, "bent upward"), "Bent Upward Behind." Name for a man whose buttocks was unusually prominent because of crippled spinal column.

wāxēnidēnjis (wāxēni, "vulva mulieris"; [d]ēnjis, masculine ending). I was unable to find out the real meaning of this abusive designation.

/732 cont./

551 522 Fred Lawrence told me that the various missionaries, as well as he himself, had only too often and in utter innocence used very sarcastic names for individual persons, the meaning of which was at first unknown to them, and that they had not understood why the natives seemed quietly amused and sometimes laughed out loud. Their sure knowledge of the language acquired later taught them to know better.

551 At this point I shall give a few samples from Bridges (a):182, without, however, repeating the Yamana words for them: "Red forehead, Bare forehead, Thin forehead, Narrow nose, Long face, Red face, Weak knee, Shrivelled foot, etc." /cited in English/ (174).

174. According to Bridges (i):26, "three classes of names were current among the Yahgans. First those derived from the place of birth...By these people were generally called, and oftentimes they had no other name. But if you asked a person his name and he happened to have only of the place of his birth, he would tell you, that he had no name, because to the native mind the family name was preeminently the name of the individual. These family names that to a great extent had in process of time lost their meaning, being largely of very remote origin.

"Children seldom received their parents name, but usually those of their uncles and aunts and of grand parents. Of these family names the following are samples. Lasapa, Aiaminaez, Palahlaian, Meacol, Cushchin...

"The third class of names were epithets descriptive of some person or peculiarity of manner, feature or accident. These latter were often handed down as family names, when of course they became no longer suitable" /cited in English/.

Actual family names, which Bridges mentions in the second instance are unknown to the Yamana.

/732 cont./

551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaxkamĕrnaxgāiyatakwĕlakirĭĕnjis (i.e., hūmax, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamĕrnaxgāiyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wĕlakirĭ, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

954 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

/793 cont./

tiiluswõnji(x?), a name given a boy in place of the name he was given at birth, out of respect for the late deceased who had the same name as his. Thus, if two persons have the same name, the survivor is called tiiluswõnji(x?); if the person is a woman, tiiluswõnji(x?)-kipa. thitõpa, "a person whose close relatives are dead, an orphan (because of negligence or through the fault of the father)." hau-tiiuf, "my deceased relatives." mameiakindeian, "the dead" (20, 37). [Some of these terms will be repeated in the section on mourning customs.]

auakõia kipaiamalim, "women who are not related." hau'usi-kipaiamalim, "my country-women," sa-kaiamãkutasãkipan, "a woman from your grandmother's region." winni-tialan, all the female relatives of someone, such as nieces, cousins, second cousins, etc. (fam.). manõkus-kipa, three or more who are sisters or sisters and brothers or first cousins. mamõkus-kipãpai, "those who are sisters or sisters and brothers." mamõkus-kipaiamalim, "three or more who are sisters or brothers and sisters." mamãkipa, mamãkipãpai, "mother and daughter, father and daughter," mamãkipaiamalim, "a mother and her daughters, a father and his daughters." kwinan, "a woman, recently widowed, taken as a wife by another man." mõxyella, "to die and leave a child as orphan" (said only of a mother). mõxyellãki, "a child whose mother died, a motherless child." kõtpix-kipa, "a woman who recently lost a brother, a sister, or a male or female cousin. ũfruxyellãdãtũ, a family of children surviving the death, for example, of a mother. ũãtõlliyellãdãtũ, "to leave orphans," as a mother her family. gaiiũasana, "female descendants," girls in general, and, if little protected by men, "weak women."

tũmãgũdãrũwa(n), stepfather
tũmãgũdãrũa, do.
tũmãgũdãruõn, do.
ki tumãgũdãrũwan, 3. do.
tũmãgun, stepson
tũmãgu (kaiiũala), do.
ki tumãgun, 3. do.
tũmãgun, do.

tũmãgũdãrakipan, stepmother
tũmãgũdãrakipa, do.
tũmayakipa, do.
ki tumãgũdãrakipan, 3. do.
tũmãkipan, stepdaughter
tũmãgũ'in(n)i, do.
ki tumãkipai, 3. do.

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tũmãkipana, "to adopt or to become a stepparent of daughters by marrying their father or mother."

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551 If matters pertaining to a specific person come up in the conversation, his name is not mentioned but is indicated by circumlocutions. The Yamana are particularly adept at this. Two men or women are all the more likely to do it when, in low tones, they discuss someone present. A person is never addressed or called by his first name; this also applies to children. People 192 who are fond of each other avoid flirtatious and endearing expres- 201 sions in front of others. Also, no one shows his dislike for another person. The Yamana do not have expletives and swear words. They roar with laughter, double up and roll convulsively on the floor. When they answer in the affirmative, they utter a deep n sound between closed lips and slowly raise their heads; they express a negative with a long drawn-out "bắf."

It is not only improper but very serious to poke fun at anyone 576 present in such a way that he himself becomes aware of it. Peo- 574 ple who have a guest from distant parts are extraordinarily careful not to arouse the least suspicion that they are disparaging or disdainful about his countrymen or his country. They are governed primarily by the fear that out of revenge for bad treatment the strange visitors might cause them much harm through their yékamuš at home and might refuse to help anyone from this group who later came to them. They do not have this fear toward children. 522 Since the Yamana /1016/ have a tendency toward ridicule and 576 sarcasm, however, they do not hold back critical and joking opinions in front of those who cannot properly defend themselves. In March, 1923, I had sent a boat from Beagle Channel to the Wollaston Islands with a special message. After a few days it brought back a lad about ten years old, whom Gertie took in temporarily. On the very first evening I saw how all the people present openly made fun of the boy's unfamiliar accent. He spoke the pure southern dialect (p. 200 /untranslated/) of the Yéškusinala /southern group/. When I expressed my astonishment that they were deviating from their customary behavior, they justified themselves: "That boy speaks a different language than we do. Some words we don't understand. Everything he says sounds so strange that it makes us laugh! After all, he is still young and small, so he can't hurt us if we openly show our amusement!" No one would dare behave this way toward adults from distant regions. When the guests have departed, however, intimate

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775 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-
797 in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauineiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and [55] grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians.
775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kelpif or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their de-
775 ceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about
781 it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kelpif!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Halamalf wituwa it is said that the kelpif of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

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765 stricken by death and is sometimes in a difficult position. The
282 duty to give unselfish aid which burns ardently in everyone's soul, especially at the sight of the universally recognized smoke signal, compulsively drives them to the scene of misfortune. The mourners themselves appreciate it very much if many tribal members soon answer their summons.

765 After the initial, very lively outbursts have somewhat abated,
769 the painful event drives all present away from the scene of the misfortune with uncanny force. Within four days at the outside, after the hut of the deceased has been burned, the campsite is changed. Usually each of the families /1114/ which have experienced the death departs in a separate direction, for each family wishes to be by itself if possible so that the others will not constantly remind them of the event. The missionaries in particular
[171] mentioned this conduct which is common to both the Yamana and the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 566) (52). Hyades (q):379 also confirms

> 52. Here is one example only, which Bridges (VSA:XII, 52;1865) furnished on November 10, 1864. In Wulaia the youngest child of the well-known Ukikku died, and he immediately left this region. "For it is an ascertained fact that the Fuegians will not, sometimes for a long time, return to the place where their relatives have died" /cited in English/.

this: "In general the hut in which a native died is burned, and the place where it stood is abandoned for a long time by the friends of the deceased" /translated from French/. They, of course, stay away from this place for a certain time, and meanwhile it is altered by the blind forces of nature. If the grave or the burial place has become unrecognizable as a result of plant growth or other circumstances, no one feels any aversion to settling down there.

765 The strict rule of never mentioning the name of the deceased
•551 is in accord with the effort they make not to be reminded in any way of the deceased. There are several witnesses for this. The first is Fitz-Roy (a):181 who can refer directly to Jemmy Button: "He would not talk of a dead person, saying, with a grave shake

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of the head, "no good, no good talk; my country never smerts: "The Fuegians do not even like to mention their deceased friends"; likewise Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869): the name of those who have died "is not mentioned for years, and they seek to utterly forget them" /cited in English/. That is not all; according to Bridges (VSA:XI, 289;1864), "the name of the dead is sacred for a long time after, and it is a great provocation to mention the name of the dead" /cited in English/ (53). In case a survivor has a name

53. Elsewhere he (z):206 repeats: "The name of the dead is not mentioned to the mourners, as it is considered very offensive, and would endanger a person's life" /cited in English/. When, in March, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI, 193;1864) spent some time in the Wulaia region, he was asked "not to allude to the deceased by name; for the Fuegians, like the Patagonians and other Indians, bury in silence the names of the departed" /cited in English/. Further confirmation is found in Hyades (g):39 and (q):379, Lovisato (b):148, Spencer:102, and others.

which is identical with that of the deceased, he must give it up (54). For example, he will exchange the name taken from

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54. Not only the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 568), but also other tribes of North and South America follow this custom. We give here an example from the most recent times. H. Baldus, "Erbfolge der Häuptlinge bei den Tereno" /Hereditary Succession of Chiefs among the Tereno/ (Ethnologischer Anzeiger, Vol. IV, pp. 38-42, Stuttgart, 1930), reports of these Indians in the southern Matto Grosso: "If one of the parents dies, all the children of the family are given other names, so that the surviving parent is not reminded of the past by their former names and thereby saddened."

/1114 cont./

765 551 his birthplace, according to the common custom, for the name of the place where he experienced his first youth initiation, or, in changing the name, they may take into consideration a striking physical peculiarity.

The nearest relatives of a deceased person are designated by a special term for some /1115/ time after his death, which is to let people know that they are in mourning. SD:104 gives Inilufwŭnji, "a name given a boy instead of his natal name in respect to the recent dead, when both bore the same name" /cited in English/; also, Inilufwakipa, "a name given the surviving female who bore the same natal name as a person lately dead" /cited in English/; and, finally, inilufwa, "a term given to a place instead of its proper name in respect to the dead who was named after it" /cited in English/. These terms are still in use today and were explained to me with these same meanings. I was also given the word ikaikŭn. It refers to one who bears the same name as one who has drowned; it is not given in SD. After some time, when the changed name (55) has become current,

> 55. Spencer:99, 105 cites particular details: "'Kush' is a berry now called 'Aman.' Burry /berry?/ used to be called 'kush,' but man of this name died, so changed name of burry... 'Lappa,' mussel, was name of man who died; now called 'Cachuing.' 'Tawella' is name of man who died, so changed to 'Stab'" /cited in English/.

this temporary designation is also dropped because it is no longer necessary (56).

> 56. The curious trait of not giving children proper names until late in life must be mentioned. With the prevailing high infant mortality, frequent mention of the name would constantly remind the parents of their loss. Since, as Bridges (a):176 realized, "it is considered evil to name the dead, if the

/1115 cont./

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child had no name the parents are not vexed by hearing it named" /cited in English/.

Now and then, of course, mention is made of a dead person, and the Yamana resort to circumlocutions which they easily invent and comprehend. For instance, if parents use an expression such as "my first child" or "my youngest daughter," the people present, who are well aware of the number of children these parents have, clearly understand. Spegazzini (a):168 also speaks of this custom (57). Fred Lawrence assured me that

> 57. In view of all this it is very strange that Cooper:162 could maintain: "The Yahgan prayer /prayed?/ to the deceased" /cited in English/. The Yamana do, of course, often remember their dead and mention them on the occasion of a general funeral ceremony, but without mentioning their names.

within a period of a few years he was twice given another name by the natives; first one and then another person who died had the same name he did. It must be pointed out here how difficult research becomes as a result of the Yamana custom of not speaking of deceased persons. I was told that a certain Pilasaixana from the Wollaston Islands murdered five men who had lived there in the manner of the Selk'nam. He alone knew about their way of life and briefly reported it to his countrymen. The latter, however, refused to repeat this information and excused themselves by saying: "We do not speak about the deceased; respect for them demands this (58)!"

> 58. Hyades (g):39 also realized this great disadvantage: "They avoid speaking of their dead ancestors as much as possible and it is particularly difficult to get them to mention their names, which, of course, makes historical accounts almost impossible."

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

185 Nearly all work was done for hand-to-mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

ETIQUETTE

576 Intimate friends, man or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he crouched by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, 574 especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person leaving the hut of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

576 On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the čiéxaus initiation rite on approaching his sponsor was expected to paint himself or herself; to go without such painting [204] was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs [514] were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

834 When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

551 It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead. [195] The *Yahgan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Yahgan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Gusinde (1937, pp. 1006–1018).

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

000 These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. 847 In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. Delivery took 844 place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [55] named after its birthplace.

861 **Education.**—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 881 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather